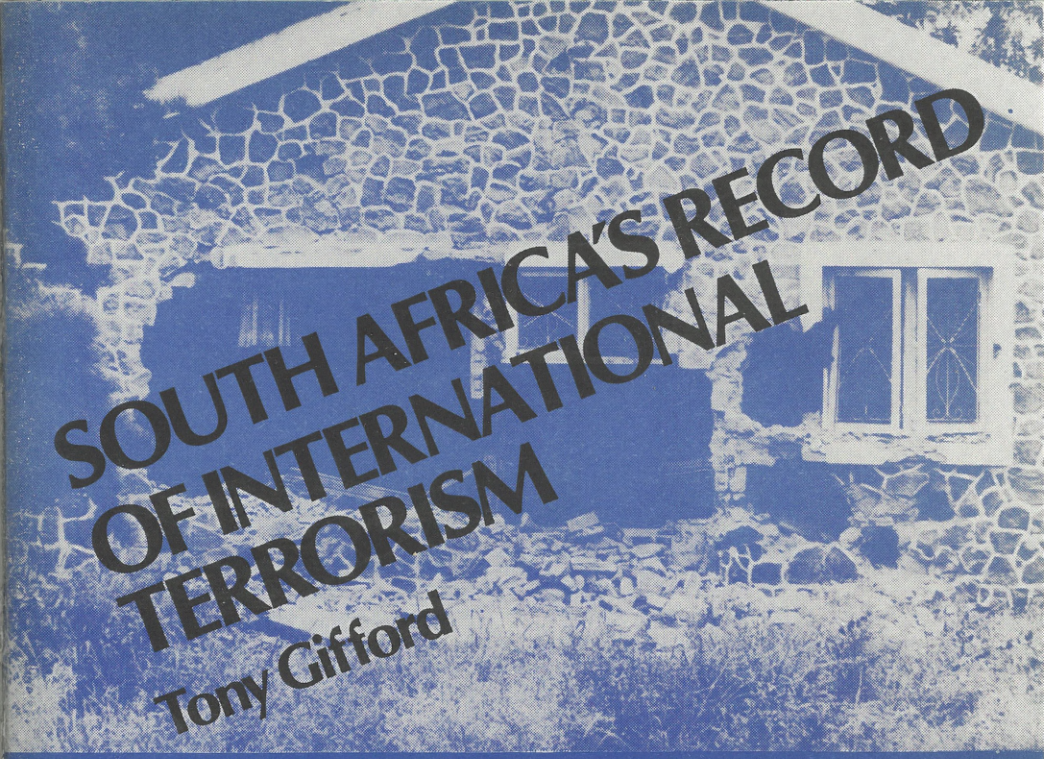
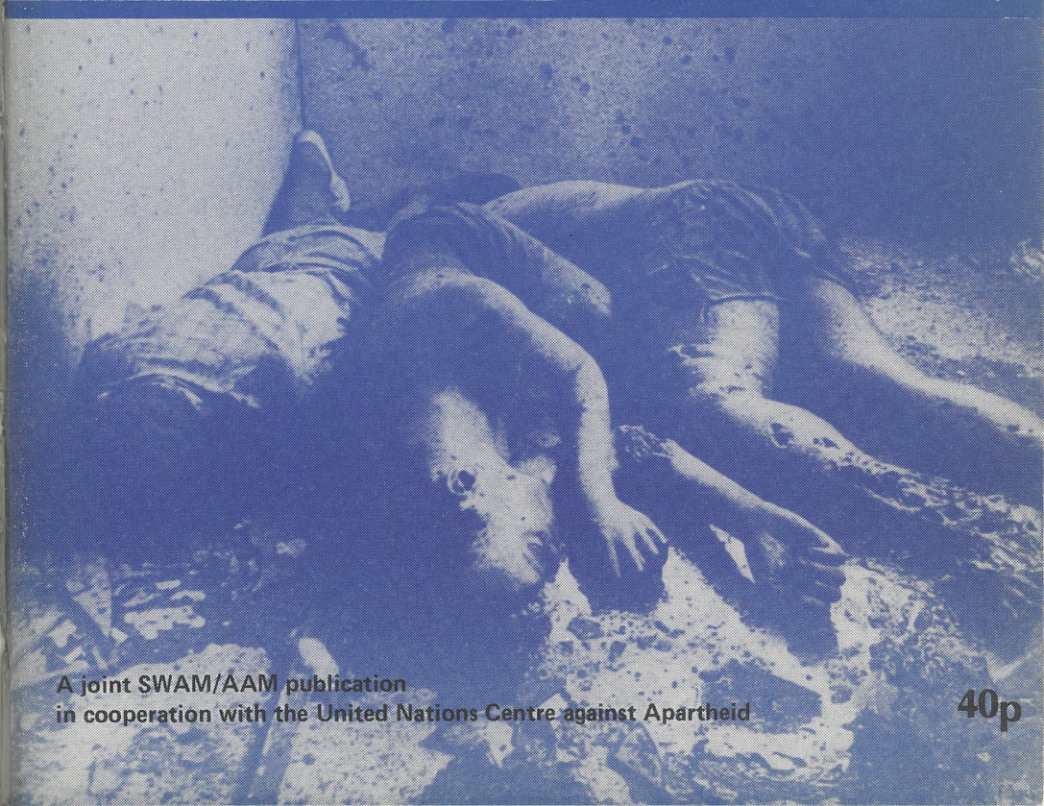


SOUTH AFRICA'S RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Tony Gifford



A joint SWAM/AAM publication
in cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid

40p

Lord Gifford is a British barrister. He is co-chairman of the Campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique and was from 1968 to 1975 the chairman of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. He is a sponsor of Southern Africa–The Imprisoned Society (SATIS).

Acknowledgment is most gratefully given to the Research Department of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which has made a major contribution to the research and preparation of this report.

Cover Pictures
The top photograph shows the SACTU residence at Matola, Maputo, following the South African commando raid on 30 January 1981
The lower photograph is of three ANC refugees murdered by South African commandos during the same raid

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September 1981

PREFACE

by HE Alhaji Yusuf Maitama-Sule
Chairman, United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid

Apartheid in South Africa presents the United Nations and the international community with a unique challenge.

The apartheid regime, which came to power in 1948, in its desperate efforts to perpetuate racist domination has crossed all bounds of morality and law.

It has enshrined racism as state policy and purports to deprive the great majority of the people of the country of their citizenship through the fraud of 'independent' bantustans. It has resorted to imprisonment, torture, execution of patriots, indiscriminate shootings of schoolchildren and arbitrary restriction of numerous leaders of the people. It has confronted and threatened the churches. It has, moreover, committed numerous acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression against neighbouring countries.

The failure of the international community to take decisive action, because of the resistance of a few governments, has only encouraged it to violate every norm of international behaviour.

The Special Committee against Apartheid believes that it is essential to make greater efforts to acquaint public opinion, especially in Western countries, of the enormity of the crimes of the Pretoria regime so that the outraged conscience of nations will facilitate the action that is long overdue.

I commend Lord Gifford for documenting the long series of acts of terrorism by the Pretoria regime, culminating in the raid on Matola, Mozambique, and the assassination of Mr Joe Gqabi in Zimbabwe.

I hope that this important study will be disseminated widely and help in promoting greater understanding of the nature and meaning of apartheid so that there will be firm international action to stop the killings and kidnappings of South African and Namibian patriots who have sought refuge in independent African states and, indeed, to eliminate apartheid.

COLD-BLOODED MURDER

On 31 July 1981, Joe Gqabi, chief representative in Zimbabwe of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), was shot dead at point blank range as he was driving out of his home in Salisbury. The killing was described by the police as 'professional'. Eighteen spent cartridges from a nine-millimetre weapon were found at the scene.[1]

Joe Gqabi had narrowly escaped death on 22 February 1981. Then Zimbabwe bomb disposal experts had defused a bomb fixed to the front wheel of his car and designed to explode as soon as the car was moved. It contained about seven kilograms of TNT and would have blown the car and garage 'sky high'.[2]

Mourning Joe Gqabi's death, the National Executive Committee of the ANC spoke of such murders as 'the key element in the criminal apartheid regime's strategy of destroying the ANC politically, eliminating its leaders and militants physically, at home and abroad'.

Less than two months before, the ANC representative in Swaziland had spoken of 'the trail of terror resulting from raids across the South African border, including midnight ambushes, mysterious explosions, murder, and kidnapping of refugees'.[3]

A HISTORY OF CRIME

The ANC did not exaggerate. The murder of Joe Gquabi is only the most recent of a succession of brutal crimes committed by the armed forces and agents of the apartheid regime outside the borders of South Africa. Murders, kidnappings, explosions: these are crimes which, when committed in other parts of the world, are denounced without hesitation as terrorist offences.

This pamphlet contains a chronicle of South Africa's criminal acts against individual victims in foreign territories. It is not a complete list; for example, during raids by South African forces into Angola and Zambia, the numbers captured and abducted are unknown. Those who have gone missing in the frontier areas have in many cases never been traced.

In some cases the responsibility of the South African authorities is acknowledged or established. In other cases the evidence pointing to their involvement, direct or indirect, is overwhelming. Sometimes the inference that South African agents are responsible can be drawn, and safely drawn, from the identity of the victims, as officials or members of political organisations – coupled, in some cases, with the timing of the actions in relation to political developments in South Africa.

The sovereignty of no less than seven independent states has been violated in the course of these crimes: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and, most recently, Zimbabwe. Some of these states, particularly

Angola, have also been the target of direct military invasion by South African armed forces. The details of South Africa's military aggression are outside the scope of this report.[4] The pattern, however, is clear: the South African regime, in its attempts to hold back the rising tide of liberation, is prepared to commit international crimes on an increasingly ruthless scale.

INTERNATIONAL LAWLESSNESS

There is no possible legal justification whatever for any of the actions described in this pamphlet. No state has the right to murder and kidnap in the territory of another, still less to enter with military force. The claim by South Africa to be exercising a 'right of hot pursuit' is bogus. The concept of hot pursuit exists only in *maritime* law, as a right to pursue ships on the high seas for breaches of the laws of a coastal state. This concept has *no application whatsoever on land.*[5]

On the contrary, it should be made clear that it is the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia which have the legal right to recognition as the representatives of their oppressed peoples; the legal right to use all forms of action for the overthrow of apartheid, racism and colonialism; and the legal right to seek and obtain all forms of support in pursuit of their right to self-determination.[6] In providing support for the liberation movements, the front line states are thus carrying out their duty under international law.

For the liberation movements are engaged in a struggle against a regime which is in multiple violation of international law. Its occupation of Namibia is wholly illegal, as the International Court of Justice has confirmed. The acquisition by South Africa of arms and related material has been determined by the Security Council (Resolution 418 of 1977) to be a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. Its acts of aggression against independent states are a direct breach of international peace and thus a violation of the United Nations Charter.

Apartheid as such has become generally recognised as an international crime. The General Assembly of the United Nations has so declared on many occasions, and notably in 1973 when it adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. International crimes are those which infringe international obligations which are essential for the protection of fundamental interests of the international community. Aggression, the forcible maintenance of colonialism, slavery and genocide are other examples of international crimes.

Finally, it is important to note that the South African regime is bound by the rules of international law to treat combatants of the liberation movements as prisoners of war.[7] If the South African authorities continue to torture, imprison and execute as ordinary criminals those combatants whom they abduct or capture, then they are in serious breach of the law and guilty of war crimes. This is especially so in the light of the historic declaration of November 1980 of the ANC that it will treat captured troops of the regime as prisoners of war.

1961 TO 1965: THE EARLY CASES

The abducting of wanted individuals by the apartheid regime from foreign territory is not new. But in earlier years, as many of the following cases show, the South African authorities were sometimes sensitive to international pressure.

Anderson Ganyile

During the 1961 uprisings in the Transkei, Anderson Ganyile was arrested and banished to the Mafeking district. He escaped and fled to Lesotho (then Basutoland) with two others. On 26 August 1961, members of the South African police crossed the border and, after a struggle, arrested the three and detained them in Transkei gaol. A habeas corpus action was instituted and the Minister of Justice was ordered to show cause why Mr Ganyile should not be released. Instead, Mr Ganyile was taken to court on charges of attempted murder, which he denied. There followed protests from the United Kingdom government and a demand for an explanation for the arrest of the three men on British soil. Later all charges were withdrawn and the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs apologised to the British Ambassador that British territory had been violated.[8]

Kenneth Abrahams

In August 1963 Dr Kenneth Abrahams escaped to Botswana (then Bechuanaland) from Rehoboth in Namibia with three others. Their truck was stopped by two South African policemen in mufti: they were induced to change vehicles and were driven back to Namibia, where they were arrested. Dr Abrahams was later flown to Cape Town. Britain expressed its concern to South Africa over the case, but South Africa denied that any of its police had been involved in the removal of Dr Abrahams from Botswana. In the interests of good relations between the two countries, it was decided to return him to Botswana.[9]

There followed a number of actions for which responsibility was claimed by a 'vigilante' group operating in the British colonial territories but advised by 'contacts' in South Africa. Plainly they had accurate information about the identity and movements of persons wanted by the police. No doubt it was considered too embarrassing and obvious for identifiable police officers to operate outside South Africa. The 'vigilantes' can be seen as forerunners for the shadowy agents who commit murders for South Africa today. The actions which they claimed responsibility for were:

Blowing up an aircraft

On 12 July 1963 four members of the ANC escaped from a prison cell in Johannesburg. Two of the men, Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, made their way to Bechuanaland. A chartered Dakota aircraft of East African Airways was sent

from Tanzania to fetch the men from Francistown. During the night after it had landed, the plane was mysteriously blown up on the airstrip.[10]

Destroying a refugee centre
To accommodate the flow of refugees from South Africa to Bechuanaland, Oxfam paid for the erection of a hostel in Francistown. On the night of 25 July 1964, a fortnight before it was due to be opened, the 'White House' (as the hostel was known) was reduced to rubble by a powerful explosion. It was reported that two white men, claiming to be pressmen, had earlier visited refugees in their makeshift quarters but out of suspicion the refugees had refused to see them.[11]

Rosemary Wentzel
In 1964 Rosemary Wentzel fled South Africa and was granted political asylum in Swaziland. Soon afterwards she mysteriously disappeared. She had opened her door to a stranger who claimed to have a message. He grabbed her and gagged her and, with two others, forced her into a car. She was driven across the frontier and arrested at a roadblock. She was detained under the 90-day law and later appeared as a state witness in a political trial.[12]

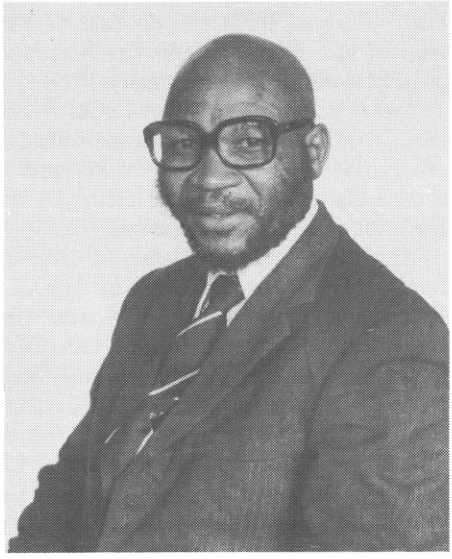
Dennis Higgs
In 1964 Dennis Higgs, a lecturer from Johannesburg, escaped via Bechuanaland to Zambia. On 28 August he was kidnapped from his home by three men and carried to a car. He was 'found' next day, bound and blindfolded, by the South African police in Johannesburg. He was taken into custody on charges of sabotage but, after complaints about his abduction, he was returned to Zambia.[13]

Sometimes the South Africans were able to rely on friendly police forces to do their work, as in the case of Michael Dingake. In his case, British government protests were of no avail.

Michael Dingake was kidnapped by the Rhodesian police in 1965 while in Rhodesia en route from Bechuanaland to Zambia. He was handed over to the South African police. He refused to enter a plea during his trial because of his illegal deportation to South Africa. He was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for furthering the aims of the South African Communist Party and the ANC. After his conviction, the South African authorities refused to accede to requests by the British government to deport him to Bechuanaland. He completed a 15-year gaol sentence on Robben Island in April 1981.[14]

Another case during this period was that of **John Iyati Pokela**, acting National Secretary of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). He was detained in August 1966 and tried in 1967. He protested in court that he had been tricked across the border of Lesotho, where he had taken refuge, by a police agent. The court, however, sentenced him to 13 years' imprisonment. After release, he escaped from South Africa and is now Chairman of the PAC.

The bodies of two ANC refugees murdered outside an ANC residence in Matola, Mozambique, by a South African commando raid on 30 January 1981.



Joe Gqabi, a veteran South African activist and ANC representative in Zimbabwe. Assassinated in Salisbury, 31 July 1981

KIDNAPPING BECOMES NORMAL

The 1970s saw the development towards an attitude by South Africa of total disregard for the norms of international conduct. In 1972 there was still some concern for legality.

In 1972 the South African Department of Foreign Affairs admitted that four policemen had entered Lesotho on 26 November to arrest a South African political exile, **Herbert Mbale**. He was returned to Lesotho after three days, following complaints from the Lesotho Foreign Affairs Ministry about his removal to South Africa. A police spokesman said that the four South African policemen had gone into Lesotho 'in a spirit of over-zealousness'.[15]

There were no such concessions four years later, when two of the defendants in the 'Pietermaritzburg 12' trial, **Joseph Nduli** and **Cleopas Ndhlovu**, both members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), were kidnapped from Swaziland.

According to evidence at the trial, on 26 March 1976 Mr Nduli and Mr Ndhlovu had arranged to meet another man on the South Africa-Swaziland border. They travelled by car to within about two kilometres of the meeting place. They noticed a vehicle on the South African side flashing its lights. When they were about 50 metres from the border fence, Mr Nduli called out the agreed signal. Several people got out of the vehicle on the South African side and climbed over the fence into Swaziland. At the same time men came from behind them and they were seized. They were convicted on 25 July 1977 and both sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, which they are serving on Robben Island.[16]

Sometimes the evidence of abduction is less clear. The victims are simply not heard of again. Such was the case of **Victor Mayisela**, a South African who had worked as a school principal in Swaziland for many years and who, with a Swazi citizen, went missing in January 1978.

Swazi police investigated claims by local people that the two men had been kidnapped after a fierce struggle outside the village of Big Bend near the northern Natal border. A sugar worker who was admitted to hospital with cuts and bruises claimed that he had escaped after attempts were made to force him into the boot of a car near Big Bend.[17]

The most horrifying case of large-scale abduction was carried out by the South African armed forces in Angola on 4 May 1978, in the course of the **Kassinga** raid and massacre. South African jet fighters and paratroops killed more than 600 Namibian refugees during a raid on the Kassinga refugee settlement, approximately 250km inside Angola. Meanwhile, South African ground troops, transported in armoured cars and supported by jet bombers and helicopters, attacked refugee transit centres further to the south, at Chetequela, Cuamato and Dombondola in Angola's Cunene province.

It was during this second stage of the South African operations that a substantial number of refugees – estimated at between 200 and 300 people – were captured by the South African forces and taken back into northern Namibia.

The prisoners were originally held in a fenced enclosure inside the Oshakati military base and interrogated on a daily basis. Sixty-eight of them were reported by the South African press to have been released within a few weeks, with no charges being laid against them. Up to 130 were transferred from Oshakati in the weeks following to the Tenegab military base near Hardap Dam, Mariental, in the south of Namibia. The remaining prisoners held at Oshakati are all believed to have been released at various times over the succeeding months.

Those prisoners held near Hardap Dam are today generally known as the 'Kassinga detainees'. At least 118 Namibian detainees are held there, according to information provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross. A list of 130 names was published by SWAPO in 1979; it is possible that further prisoners captured during the Kassinga operations may be held at prisons or detention centres elsewhere in Namibia. The Kassinga detainees have been held incommunicado without charge for more than three years, without access to legal representation and, it is believed, in harsh conditions. They are reportedly held under the 'South-West Africa Administrator General's Proclamation AG9', which allows for detention without charge for up to 30 days only.[18]

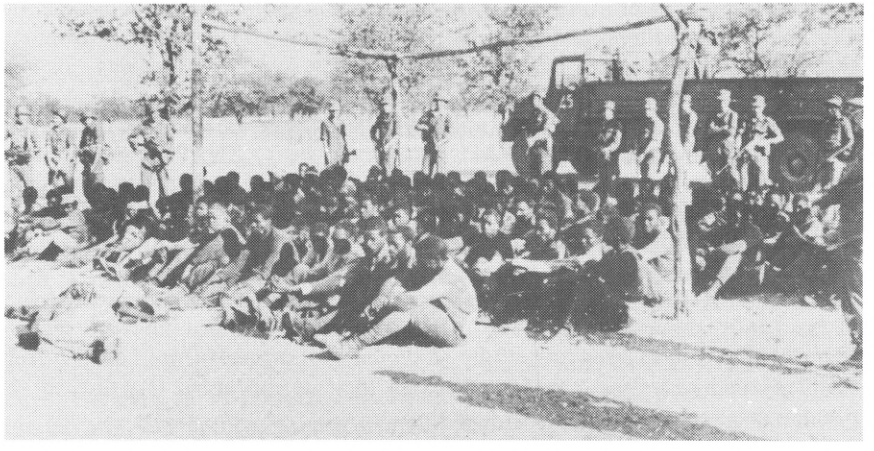
Since the Kassinga operation, abduction has become a regular practice. Not only South African or Namibian refugees, but the nationals of other states, have been the victims. In one case at least, the South African military forces had the effrontery to kidnap an Angolan citizen and force him to fight in the South African forces against SWAPO.

This was the case of **Mutenha Nanguvo**, from Pocoro, Cunene province, employed as a carpenter by the Angolan Ministry of Construction. On 25 November 1979 he was in the village of Naulila when it was attacked by helicopter-transported South African troops. The population fled while the South Africans burnt and destroyed buildings. Mr Nanguvo was captured while trying to flee on a truck. He was taken, together with nine other Angolan prisoners, bound and blindfolded, by helicopter to the Oshakati military base in northern Namibia. Here he was interrogated and beaten up. A few days later, he was taken to Dukunduku in Natal, South Africa, where he was given military training at the Reconnaissance Commando No 5 military training base. He was told that he was being trained to fight against SWAPO and would wear a SWAPO uniform. After seven months of training, he was returned in June 1980 to Ondangua, northern Namibia, and integrated into a counter-insurgency unit. In December 1980, he escaped from Ondangua and made his way back to Angola with the assistance of SWAPO guerrillas.[19]

The case of Zinjiva Nkondo, when compared to some of the abduction cases of the 1960s, shows that the South African courts no longer uphold any legality when prisoners have been unlawfully abducted. But protests from Lesotho eventually secured his release – perhaps because the case concerned very directly the peculiar geographical situation of Lesotho.

On 12 December 1979, **Zinjiva Nkondo** (Victor Matlou), an official of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity in Lusaka, was seized by South African police while in transit between Mozambique and Lesotho. His scheduled Lesotho Airways flight from Maputo to Maseru was forced to land at Bloemfon-

A mass grave at Kassinga, Angola, where on 4 May 1978 over 700 Namibian refugees were massacred during a South African attack.



A group of Namibians captured by the South Africans during the attack on Kassinga and other refugee settlements in Angola. At least 118 are still detained incommunicado in a South African detention camp.

tein because of bad weather in Maseru. While he and other passengers were being taken to Maseru by bus, he was arrested at the Ladybrand border post. He was detained under the Terrorism Act and eventually charged with various offences in connection with his work for the ANC. An application against the Minister for Police was made to the Bloemfontein Supreme Court, accompanied by affidavits from the Lesotho government, seeking his release on the grounds that his detention infringed Lesotho's territorial integrity. The application was dismissed with costs in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court in March 1980. On 14 May 1980, however, the charges against Mr Nkondo were dropped and he was escorted to the Lesotho border and released.[20]

More large-scale abductions from Angola took place in May 1980. On 12 May 1980 South African troops reportedly took away 'countless families' during an attack on the hamlet of Chiede in Cunene province. On 21 May 1980, during an attack on Savate in Cuando Cubango province, a large number of people were reported captured.[21] On 28 June 1980 an 18-year-old Angolan student, **Martins Antonio Segundo Canhamga**, was wounded and kidnapped by South African forces during an attack on the Mupa Commune, in the municipality of Cuvelay.[22] At the time he was employed as a teacher in a literacy brigade. The abductions from Angola must in truth be seen as a military tactic in the ferocious war of aggression being waged by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola.

In the South African Commando raid on ANC and SACTU residences in Matola in Mozambique on 30 January 1981, which is described below, three ANC refugees were kidnapped: **Motidi Ntshekang, David Tobela** and **Selby Mavuso**. It was only confirmed on 28 February 1981 by the apartheid regime that the three men had been captured and held. The Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said in a statement that the men were being held in terms of the Terrorism Act, and that police were investigating a possible connection between them and the sabotage attack on the SASOL plant in 1980.[23]

The most recent abduction at the time of writing (September 1981) was of a South African refugee and ANC member, **Daya Joe Pillay**, who was abducted by South African agents after a violent struggle in front of eyewitnesses at the school where he taught near Manzini in Swaziland, and taken to South Africa, in late February 1981. Mr Pillay was held at a secret location where he was interrogated and tortured by South African security police. On 11 March, in what appears to have been an 'exchange deal', Mr Pillay was returned to Mbabane under cover of darkness, after four of his abductors, who had been apprehended in Swaziland by the local police, were released and returned to South Africa.[24]

It remains to be seen whether the crime of abduction will continue to be used by the South African regime as a means of bringing members of the liberation movements to trial. In recent years increasingly, a more direct and bloody method has been used to dispose of militants—the method of murder.

A CATALOGUE OF MURDER

When the National Executive of the ANC accused the South African regime of a strategy of political assassination, it was not exaggerating. It was recalling the bitter loss of many South African militants over the last seven years, through the parcel bomb, the explosive device and the gun, at the hands of South African agents working in a variety of countries. Others have escaped equally murderous attempts on their lives.

Abraham Tiro, killed in Botswana, 1974
On 1 February 1974 Abraham Tiro, former permanent secretary of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), was killed by a parcel bomb delivered to him where he was living just outside Gaberone, Botswana. The parcel bore the stamp of the International University Exchange Fund, although the Fund had not sent any such parcel to Mr Tiro. The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs denied any responsibility for the death.[25]

John Dube, killed in Zambia, 1974
Only 11 days after Abraham Tiro's death, another South African exile was killed in a parcel bomb explosion. John Dube, deputy representative of the ANC in Lusaka, was killed instantly when a book addressed to him exploded. The blast injured three others and blew a gaping hole in the roof of the Liberation Centre.[26]

Ablom Duma, wounded in Swaziland, 1978
On 23 January 1978 Ablom Duma, a leading member of the ANC was seriously injured by an explosion in a booby-trapped post office box in Manzini, Swaziland. His right arm was severed below the elbow. This bomb was in fact the second attempt on Mr Duma's life, for in 1977 he had become suspicious about a bulky parcel with German postmarks, which was sent to the Matsapa police college and found to contain high explosives.[27]

John Majola and Willie Nyoni, ambushed in Swaziland, 1978
These two members of the ANC were shot at while driving a truck in Swaziland, six kilometres from the Naamacha border post with Mozambique. The truck belonged, significantly, to Ablom Duma. John Majola escaped into the bush when the truck was fired on. He said that shots were fired from a car carrying white men dressed in overalls of a construction company building a road in the area. His passenger, Willie Nyoni, was missing after the incident and was presumed to have been killed or abducted. He has not been heard of since. At the scene of the ambush 30 cartridge cases were found and the grass had been flattened, indicating that the ambushers had been waiting for the truck to arrive.[28]

Father John Osmers, wounded in Lesotho, 1979
An Anglican priest from New Zealand, Father John Osmers, had his right hand blown off by a parcel bomb in the house of a South African exile, Mrs Phyllis Naidoo, in Maseru, Lesotho. She was injured in the blast, as were three other South African refugees. The parcel contained copies of *Sechaba*, the magazine of the ANC, and had been sent from the German Democratic Republic. Clearly it had been tampered with en route to Lesotho.[29]

Patrick Makau and a child, killed in Swaziland, 1980
A mere three days after the ANC sabotage attack on oil installations at Sasolburg and Secunda on 1/2 June 1980, two houses occupied by South African refugees were blown up in Manzini, Swaziland. Two people were killed: Patrick Makau, an ANC member, and a seven-year-old girl, daughter of a Swazi citizen. Five people were injured, one seriously. Refugee sources said that one of the demolished houses had been rented by the ANC and both were occupied by South African refugees and Swazi sympathisers. No one claimed responsibility for the blasts but the belief was that South African agents had been responsible. South African refugees living in the area had complained the day before the blasts of the presence in the vicinity of two white men with South African accents.[30]

Thembi Hani, attempted murder, Lesotho, 1980
A week later, on 11 June 1980, another bomb explosion occurred outside the house of a South African exile. The bomb was placed beneath the car of Thembi Hani, a prominent member of the ANC. The car was wrecked and the house also suffered considerable damage. The bomb may have been meant also for **Thozamile Botha**, the former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, who had fled to Lesotho the previous month and was staying with Mr Hani at the time. The youth leader of a miniscule Lesotho opposition group, the United Democratic Party, was found injured and charged with placing the bomb. At his trial, which is still continuing, the accused said that he had been sent by a member of the South African security police, a Mr Khoza, with instructions to kill Mr Hani.[31]

These explosions bore the signs of a well coordinated action, a brutal form of retaliation for the ANC sabotage of the oil installations. The scale of the crimes was mounting: parcel bombs, which could be detected by careful security, giving place to the planting of heavy explosives. In their next murderous action, the South African authorities did not bother with the pretence of undercover agents. The multiple murders of Matola, in Mozambique, were carried out by commandos of the South African armed forces. Matola represents the most brazen and brutal example to date of South Africa's policy of elimination of ANC militants.

MATOLA

The South African commando group, which included former Rhodesian mercenaries, crossed into Mozambique by a dirt road in the Pangane region at about 23.00 hours on 29 January 1981. They had their hands and faces painted black and lorries altered to look like Mozambican trucks. On arrival in Matola, 15km from Maputo, they blocked the road at two points. At one of the roadblocks, a Portuguese electrical technician, who was returning by car from an inspection of the electricity lines, was shot and killed.

Three houses were attacked, all occupied by South African refugees. At the first, the commandos pretended to be Mozambican soldiers who had come to speak to the ANC members. As the occupants came out, the commandos began to shoot. Four commandos were themselves killed in this action and the body of one, a British mercenary, was abandoned.

At the second house, which belonged to SACTU, the commandos opened fire with bazookas and grenades which destroyed the house and killed one of the occupants, William Khanyile. As they withdrew, they placed booby-trap explosives at the exits from the house. At the third house, the commandos cut the telephone wires and opened fire from the street with bazookas and grenades, killing several of the occupants. The attacks lasted an hour.[32]

Twelve militants of the ANC and SACTU were murdered in the raid. They were **William Khanyile**, a militant of SACTU and prisoner for eight years on Robben Island; **Motso Mokgabudi**; **Mduduzi Guma**; **Krishna Rabillal**; **Sizinzo Sikweyiya**; **Beki Magubane**; **Thabani Burulani**; **Lancelot Hadede**; **Daniel Molebatsi**; **Stephen Ngcobo**; **Nelson Manakaza**; and **Nelson Ndunamvula**. Another SACTU militant, **Richard Sibonyoni**, died in June from injuries received in the raid. Three men, as mentioned above, were abducted and taken to South Africa.

After the raid, the Mozambican authorities established that a number of Mozambicans had facilitated the attack and given information to South Africa. Furthermore, on 4 March 1981, the Foreign Ministry of Mozambique announced the expulsion of six American citizens for acts of espionage on behalf of the CIA. The CIA and the South African secret services had been working together to obtain 'up-to-date information' on the Mozambican armed forces and on liberation movements which have representatives in Mozambique.[33]

CONCLUSION

The murder of Joe Gqabi is the latest to date (September 1981) of South Africa's criminal acts in the territory of foreign independent states. It marks the start of such acts in yet another country, Zimbabwe. It coincides in time with the large-scale invasion by South African forces of southern Angola, and with the announcement of a 30 per cent increase in the 'defence' budget of the racist regime.

The scale of the atrocities perpetrated by the South African forces and their clandestine agents has increased year by year. In earlier years, there was sometimes a response to international pressure, especially in some of the cases where the United Kingdom was the colonial authority in the territories concerned. Now, the racist regime appears to feel confident that the West will not exert any serious pressure and, accordingly, the opinion of the international community is contemptuously ignored. The criminality of the racist regime in carrying out these acts of murder and kidnap is matched by its other forms of defiance of international law: its entrenchment of its occupation of Namibia; its regular acts of military aggression; its crimes against the South African people.

The South African regime has been much encouraged in its escalation of aggression by the new administration of President Reagan in the United States. In their statements seeking to justify the attack on Matola, the South African Prime Minister and Defence Minister alluded to a major statement by President Reagan about international terrorism, made only two days before the attack. The South African Defence Minister spoke of 'happy signs that the West was becoming more conscious that stronger action had to be taken against terrorism'.[34]

President Reagan has asked the United States Congress to repeal the Clark Amendment in order that he can provide US military aid to UNITA, the bandit group which South Africa sustains in Angola. Thus there is the gravest risk that the United States, already implicated through the activities of the CIA, will become an overt accomplice in South Africa's criminal actions.

Even more disturbing was the disclosure, in leaked US State Department documents, that the United States was advocating 'the greater acceptance of South Africa within the global framework of Western security'.[35] Around the same time, on 30 April 1981, the United Kingdom and France, along with the United States, cast their quadruple veto in the Security Council against resolutions proposing mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, thus encouraging the racist regime's defiance of international law over Namibia.

The response of the international community can in this situation be decisive. The crimes set out in this report have received scant attention in many countries which claim to value freedom and legality. Governments which rail against terrorism in Europe and call for international conventions to prevent and punish it, nevertheless condone without protest the most brutal crimes of South Africa. They demonstrate double standards and the morality of hypocrites.

The most flagrant international terrorists in the world receive their wages from the apartheid regime of South Africa. The maximum of activity is required from the international community to expose and denounce their crimes and to remove from them every form of protection and support.

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REMEMBER KASSINGA
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These papers describe the main features of the machinery of political repression built up in Namibia over the years of apartheid occupation, and include first-hand accounts of the detention and torture of Namibian men and women arrested for their activities in support of the national liberation movement, SWAPO.

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